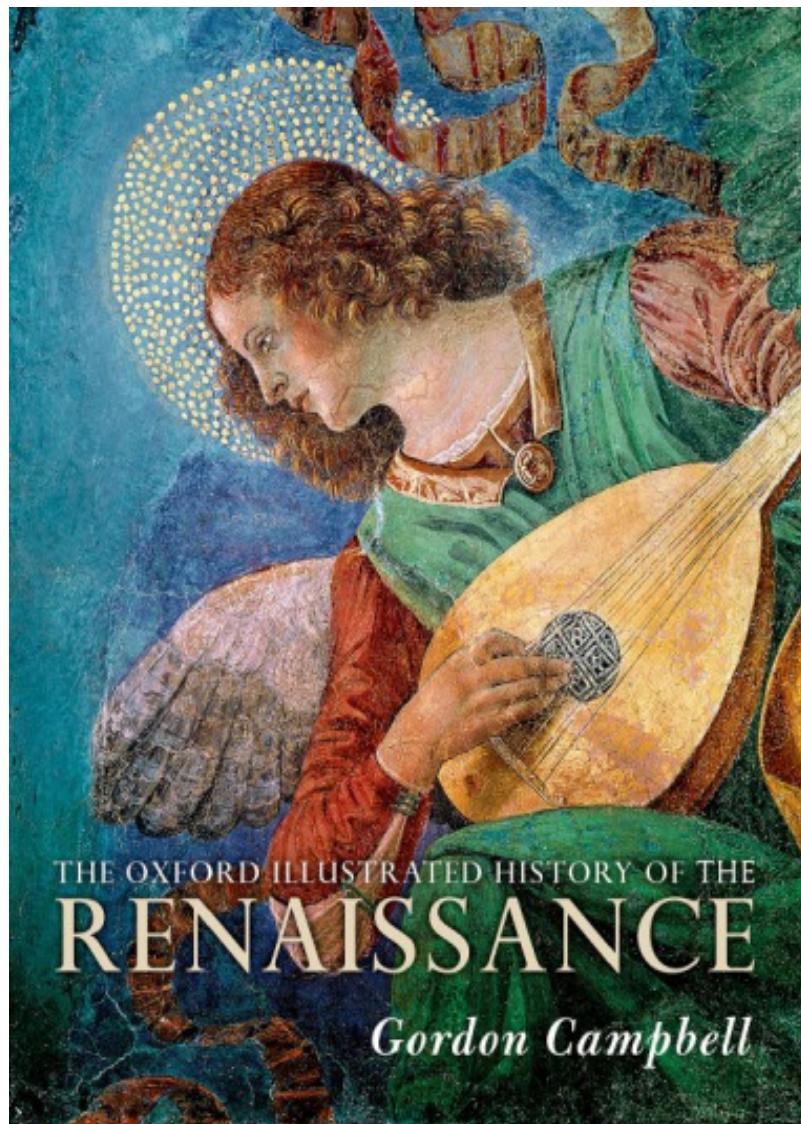


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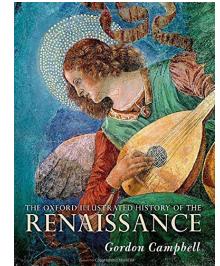


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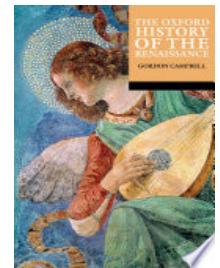
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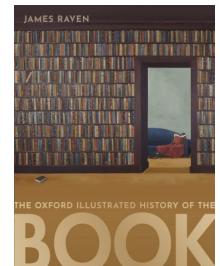
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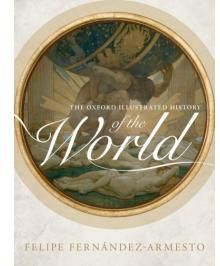
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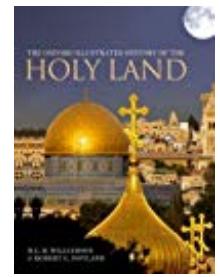
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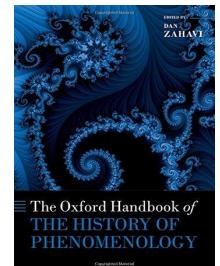
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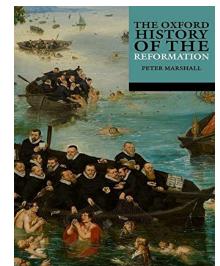
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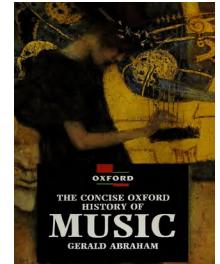
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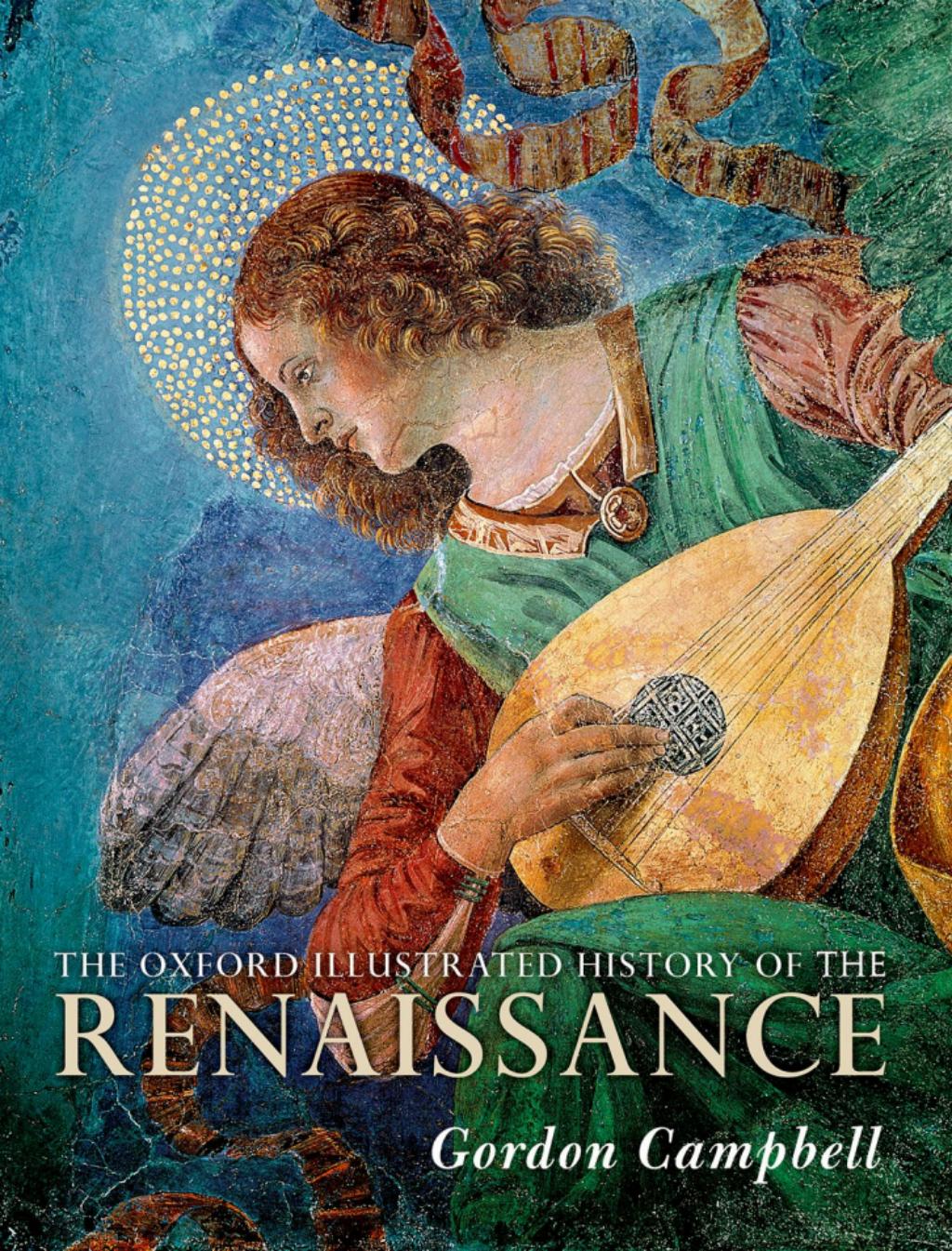
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THE OXFORD ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF THE RENAISSANCE

Gordon Campbell

THE OXFORD ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF
THE RENAISSANCE

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The editor and contributors wish to dedicate this volume to Matthew Cotton.

THE OXFORD ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF
THE
RENAISSANCE

Edited by
GORDON CAMPBELL

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Introduction

GORDON CAMPBELL

THE Renaissance is a model of cultural descent in which the culture of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Europe is represented as a repudiation of a medieval world in decline in favour of the revival of the culture of ancient Greece and Rome. The parallel religious model is the Reformation, in which the church is represented as turning its back on corruption and decline in favour of a renewal of the purity of the early church. In both models, there had to be an intervening middle period between the glorious past and its revival. The idea of the Middle Ages (*medium aevum*) was introduced to European historiography by the Roman historian Flavio Biondo in 1437, and quickly became a commonplace. Thereafter European history was conventionally divided into three periods: classical antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the modern period. The biblical metaphor of rebirth was first applied to art by Giorgio Vasari, who used the term to denote the period from Cimabue and Giotto to his own time. It was certainly an inordinately slow birth.

The broadening of the term ‘renaissance’ to encompass a period and a cultural model is a product of the nineteenth century, albeit with roots in the French Enlightenment. That is why we use the French form (*renaissance*) rather than the Italian (*rinascità*) to denote this rebirth. In 1855 the French historian Jules Michelet used the term ‘Renaissance’ as the title of a volume on sixteenth-century France. Five years later Jacob Burckhardt published *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien* (The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy), in which he identified the idea of a Renaissance with a set of cultural concepts, such as individualism and the idea of the universal man. Vasari’s designation of a movement in art had become the term for an epoch in history associated with a particular set of cultural values. These issues are explored in detail in François Quiviger’s chapter on ‘The Civilization of the Renaissance’, which explores the afterlife of Burckhardt’s concept of individuality in more recent notions of self-fashioning and gender fluidity, and in the complex notion of the ‘self’.

The model of the Renaissance has evolved over time. An older generation of historians had a predilection for precision: the Middle Ages were deemed to have

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begun in 476 with the fall of the Roman Empire in the West and concluded with the fall of Constantinople in 1453, when Greek scholars fled to Italy with classical manuscripts under their arms. This book subverts those easy assumptions at every turn, but the contributors nonetheless assume that the model of a cultural Renaissance remains a useful prism through which the period can be examined. That model has been challenged by those who prefer to think of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries purely in terms of a temporal period called the Early Modern period. This idea is, of course, as fraught with ideological baggage as is the term Renaissance, and embodies narrow assumptions about cultural origins that may be deemed inappropriate in a multicultural Europe and a globalized world.

This is a book about the cultural model of a Renaissance rather than a period. That said, it must be acknowledged that while this model remains serviceable, it also has limitations. The idea of a Renaissance is of considerable use when referring to the scholarly, courtly, and even military cultures of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, because members of those elites were consciously emulating classical antiquity, but it is of little value as a model for popular culture and the everyday life of most Europeans. The idea of historical periods, which is emphasized by the use of centuries or rulers as boundaries, is particularly problematical in the case of the Renaissance, because a model that assumes the repudiation of the immediate past is insufficiently attentive to cultural continuities.

Such continuities are sometimes not readily apparent, because they are occluded by Renaissance conventions. Shakespeare is a case in point. He was in many ways the inheritor of the traditions of medieval English drama, and he accordingly divided his plays into scenes. Printed conventions, however, had been influenced by the classical conventions in Renaissance printing culture. Horace had said that plays should consist of neither more nor less than five acts ('Neue minor neu sit quinto productior actu fabula', *Ars Poetica* 189). Shakespeare's plays were therefore printed in five acts, and so were appropriated into the classical tradition. In 1863, three years after Burckhardt had published his book on the Renaissance, the German playwright Gustav Freytag published an essay on drama (*Die Technik des Dramas*) in which he advanced the thesis that a five-act structure (exposition, rising action, climax, falling action, denouement) can be discerned in both ancient Greek drama and in the plays of Shakespeare. The model of the Renaissance was thereby imposed on the structure of Shakespeare's plays (and of the plays of the ancient Greek playwrights). This influence may also be seen in the early quartos of Shakespeare's plays. The inclusion of classicizing genres (comedy and tragedy) on the title-pages (such as *A Pleasant Conceited Comedy called Love's Labour's Lost* and *The Most Excellent and Lamentable Tragedy of Romeo and Juliet*) would seem to be the promotional work of the publisher, not the author. When Shakespeare's colleagues decided to assemble a posthumous collection of his plays, they chose to publish them in a folio format, which was the form normally associated with the publication of classical texts. Within this famous folio, the plays were organized in three genres: comedy, tragedy, and history, the last of which was borrowed from an ancient non-

dramatic genre. By such means publishers obscured the roots of Shakespeare's plays in vernacular English drama, and so appropriated his work to the model of the Renaissance. The plays do reflect innovative classical influences as well as cultural continuities with the Middle Ages. Many of the chapters in this book address the blend of continuity and innovation in the culture of the period.

The model of the Renaissance still affects the European sense of its past. In England, for example, secondary schools do not teach the language of England's past—Anglo-Saxon—because our line of cultural descent is deemed to originate in ancient Greece and Rome; traditional schools therefore teach classical Latin, and sometimes ancient Greek. The humanists of the Renaissance believed that classical Latin was pure and medieval Latin corrupt, and so taught classical Latin; we do the same today. In the case of Greek, we are much more precise. We do not teach Homeric Greek or Byzantine Greek or modern Greek, but rather the Greek of Athens in the fifth century BCE. In this sense, we are inheritors of the Renaissance.

Renaissance humanists are the subject of Peter Mack's chapter, which traces the contours of humanism from its origins in Italy (especially Padua) and the seminal figure of Petrarch before turning to the humanist scholars of fifteenth-century Italy and the slightly later humanists of northern Europe and Spain. The humanist movement represented by these scholars had a transformative impact on the educational initiatives of the Renaissance, and also left its mark on academic disciplines such as philosophy, history, and classical scholarship.

Humanism was also important for national literatures. The burgeoning of vernacular literature, accelerated by the technology of print, produced a distinguished corpus of literature in many languages. This literature, much of which is indebted to classical models, is the subject of the chapter by Warren Boucher. Latin was the language of educated discourse, but throughout this period it faced a fast-growing rival in vernacular writing, which created new literary cultures amongst a plethora of lay publics. In some cases classical genres were retained for writing in vernaculars, so the period is replete with examples of epics and tragedies written in national languages. The language of the international republic of letters was Latin, but the hegemony of Latin as the learned language of Europe was increasingly challenged by French, the language that also produced what might be claimed as Europe's most distinguished body of vernacular literature.

The idea of the Renaissance has slowly evolved since the nineteenth century. There was an assumption (now an embarrassment) that Europe was the centre of the world, that Europeans had discovered other parts of the world and brought civilization to the uncivilized. Now we speak of cultural encounters, and acknowledge that there were complex cultural exchanges. These issues are explored in the chapter on the global Renaissance by Peter Burke and Felipe Fernandez-Armesto, who describe the interfaces between the European Renaissance and the cultures of the Byzantine Empire, the Islamic world, Asia, the Americas, and Africa. Travellers, including missionaries, disseminated European ideas and in turn were influenced by the

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cultures in which they found themselves. Print enabled words and images to become vehicles of culture, and travellers brought artefacts back to Europe. There had been many renaissances in various parts of the world, but the European Renaissance was the first global Renaissance.

Within Europe, in forms such as architecture, the traditional model of a cultural movement beginning in Italy and Flanders still has much to commend itself, as long as lines are not drawn rigidly. Italian Renaissance architecture spread well beyond Italy: the Belvedere in the garden of the Hradčany in Prague is a wholly Italianate building, as are the Palace of Charles V in the Alhambra, the Boimi Chapel in Lviv (now in Ukraine), and the reconstructed royal palace in Visegrád (Hungary). There are also striking examples of cultural hybridity, such as the arcaded galleries (with local and Venetian elements) around the squares in Zamość (Poland), the Orthodox decoration of the interior of the Palace of Facets in the Moscow Kremlin, and the Islamic strain in Spanish architecture after the Reconquista. Nor are Renaissance buildings confined to Europe. The debt to Italy in the architecture of Juan de Herrera is readily apparent in the Escorial, but Italian forms and Herreran monumental severity also characterize the early cathedrals in the Spanish Empire, notably Mexico City, Puebla, and Lima.



THE BELVEDERE SUMMER PALACE (1538–63) in the garden of the Hradčany in Prague was designed by Paolo Stella, an Italian architect and sculptor. The sandstone reliefs on the building are the work of Italian masons. The Belvedere is the earliest wholly Italianate building to have been built north of the Alps.



THE CATHEDRAL BASILICA OF ST JOHN THE APOSTLE AND EVANGELIST IN LIMA, Peru (1598–1622), was designed by the Spanish architect Francisco Becerra, who had previously designed Pueblo Cathedral in Mexico (1575). The two towers show the influence of Juan de Herrera's Escorial, near Madrid. The interior aisles are Renaissance in style.

In the twenty-first century, the model of the Renaissance is characterized by its breadth, but also the elasticity of its temporal boundaries. Italianists characteristically regard the death of Raphael in 1520 and the Sack of Rome in 1527 as marking the end of the High Renaissance. Students of the Spanish Golden Age, on the other hand, see the period of Spain's artistic and literary zenith as beginning in the 1490s (the Reconquista concluded in 1492) and extending to the early seventeenth century, with the death of Lope de Vega in 1635. The advantage of treating the Renaissance primarily as a cultural phenomenon rather than a period is that such temporal discrepancies are easily accommodated. The chapters in this volume will therefore describe the history (especially the cultural history) of a long Renaissance, and one with permeable boundaries.

The study of the Renaissance is dominated by the history of art and architecture. Two chapters in this volume attend to the seminal centres of art and architecture, and to their influence. Francis Ames-Lewis's chapter is centred on Italy and beyond, and Paula Nuttall and Richard Williams discuss the art and architecture of the Northern Renaissance in Flanders and beyond. Francis Ames-Lewis considers the access that Italian Renaissance artists and architects had to the art and architecture of classical antiquity, and how they interpreted those models for contemporary clients. Burckhardt's vision of the Renaissance as centred on man rather than God is used as the starting point of the

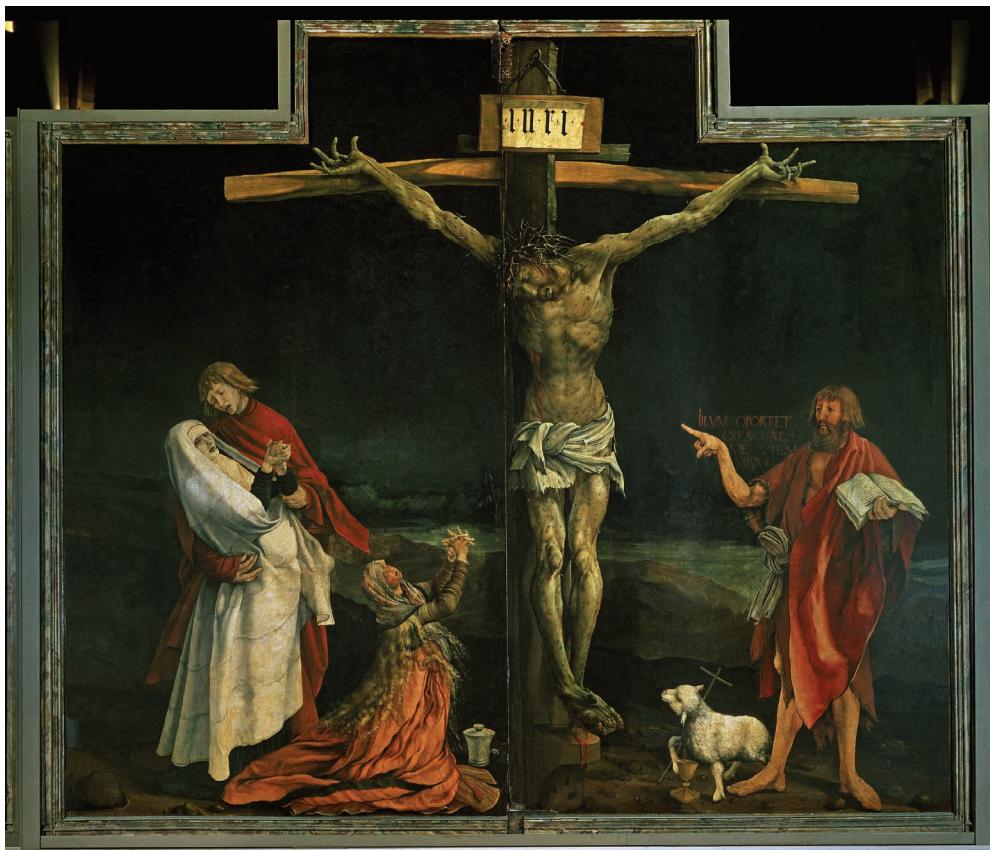
discussion of the human form in Renaissance sculpture and portraiture. Italian Renaissance painting was indebted to survivals from classical antiquity, but perhaps more importantly, drew on the classical notion of mimesis, the imitation of nature. The contemporary models that were examined through the prism of mimesis included the work of North European artists, notably in Flanders.

The chapter on the art and architecture of northern Europe, by Paula Nuttall and Richard Williams, focuses on the effect on local traditions of the ideas of the Renaissance. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are treated separately, because the leaky watershed of 1500 marks a shift in the relationship between northern and southern art. In the fifteenth century, the art of northern Europe was in small measure influenced by developments in Italy, but the dominant change was a series of innovations in the north that paralleled or preceded comparable shifts in Italian art. In the sixteenth century the relationship changed, as the burgeoning humanist movement in the north began to facilitate direct Italian influence on the art of the north, which increasingly reflected the classical ideals of the Italian Renaissance. These divisions between north and south are not always sharp, partly because artists and architects were mobile, so there were Flemish artists working in Rome and Italian artists working in northern and central Europe, and artistic relations between centres such as Venice and Nuremberg facilitated constant exchanges.

From a twenty-first-century perspective, the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries seem to be dominated by wars and religion—and by wars arising out of confessional differences. It would be a mistake, however, to think of religion and warfare in terms of our own experience. Religion provided a language not only for articulating belief in God, but for many matters for which we would now use the language of politics or human emotion. The artistic image of the Madonna and Child, for example, was a centuries-old devotional image with pagan roots in the depiction of Isis and Horus, but at the hands of Renaissance (initially Venetian) artists, it became an intensely human image of a mother and her infant son.

Conversely, the art of the period can reflect strands of spirituality in the Renaissance. The crucifixion panel in Grünewald's Isenheim Altarpiece depicts the tortured body of Jesus on the cross, his skin covered with sores, his hands twisted with the pain of the nails, and his feet contorted by the single nail driven through them. The painting was originally hung in a monastic hospital that cared for the dying, and patients who gazed at the body of Jesus would not have thought of it in theological terms (seeing, for example, the three nails as an image of the Holy Trinity), but as a reflection of their own afflictions, and possibly as an affirmation that grace can survive the destruction of the body. Stella Fletcher's chapter on religion is an account of the spiritualities that characterize such belief, and of the refractions of those spiritualities in the art of the Renaissance.

Europe was continuously at war in the years covered by this volume, but there was neither large-scale destruction nor vast numbers of casualties by comparison with the wars of the twentieth century. In Renaissance Europe, many more people died of



MATHIS GOTTHART NITHART (GRÜNEWALD), central panel of the Isenheim Altarpiece (1512–15). On the left the Virgin Mary is held by St John the Evangelist, and Mary Magdalene kneels in prayer. On the right John the Baptist points to Jesus, holding a scroll that reads (in Latin) 'he must increase but I must decrease' (John 3:30).

plague, and of childbirth, than were killed in battle. War could be brutal, but it was also regarded as an art, a subject explored in David Parrott's chapter on 'War and the State'. Machiavelli stood at the head of a long succession of theorists, many of whom saw war through the prism of the wars of classical antiquity. War was driven by aggrieved rulers who were motivated by considerations of honour, reputation, and vindication. The nature of warfare evolved constantly throughout the period, partly because of developments in weaponry and fortifications, but also because of the changing nature of armies and navies.

The study of the arts in the Renaissance has traditionally been focused on what are traditionally known as the fine arts: painting, sculpture, architecture, music (i.e. composition), and poetry. These are all spheres in which artists of the Renaissance produced some of the finest creations of European civilization. This preoccupation

with the fine arts in subsequent centuries has, however, often played down the importance of other areas of creative endeavour. The distinction between the fine arts and the decorative arts that first emerged in the mid-eighteenth century, for example, established a hierarchy of taste: the fine arts were intended to give pleasure, while the decorative arts (then known as the mechanical arts) were deemed to be merely useful. Easel painting was a fine art, but the painting of figures on pottery was decorative; the exteriors of buildings (including their gardens) were the product of the fine art of architecture, but the interiors (including layout as well as fittings and furnishings) were decorative art; sculpting in marble was a fine art, but ivory-carving and wood-carving were crafts. Such distinctions persist in modern attitudes, and unhappily suppress popular awareness of some magnificent works of art, such as Benvenuto Cellini's salt cellar, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. The virtuoso craftsmanship of this small piece, which was commissioned by King Francis I of France, melds decorative elements from the Fontainebleau School with sculpted figures in the idiom of Italian Mannerism. Such works of art have not captured the



BENVENUTO CELLINI, gold and enamel salt cellar (1540–3). The female figure of Tellus represents earth; the temple beside her held pepper. The male figure of Neptune represents the sea; the ship beside him held salt. The figures in the base represent the winds, the times of the day, and human activities.

public imagination because they are not classified as fine art. During the Renaissance, however, artists were members of craft guilds, and in many languages the terms 'artist' and 'artisan' were used interchangeably.

The chapter by Pamela Long and Andrew Morrall on craft and technology sets aside modern distinctions between art and craft, and indeed illuminates the convergence of artisanal and learned cultures during the Renaissance. The figures on Cellini's salt cellar are classical gods drawn from the learned tradition. This detail is indicative of an important phenomenon, which is the integration of the classical renewal that lies at the heart of the Renaissance into the design of crafts. Aristocratic patronage facilitated the transition of classical themes from the learned world to crafted objects ranging from tapestries to tableware. The trades that produced the craft and technology of the period were often innovative in fields such as agriculture, shipbuilding, military technology, and fortification.

Traditional narratives of the scientific revolution tend to run from Copernicus (a heliocentric cosmology) to Newton (a universe governed by scientific laws). Just as the Renaissance was deemed to begin in 1453 with the fall of Constantinople, so the scientific revolution that heralded the birth of modern science was deemed to begin in 1543, the year in which Copernicus' *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* (On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres), Vesalius' *De humani corporis fabrica* (On the fabric of the human body), and the German translation of Leonhart Fuchs's *De historia stirpium* (On the History of Plants) were published. Paula Findlen's chapter on 'The Renaissance of Science' presents these accomplishments as the culmination of developments in science and medicine in the course of the Renaissance. The humanist re-examination of the science and medicine of classical antiquity promoted debates about how best to explain the nature of the universe, the place of human beings within it, and the physiology of the human body.

The aspects of the cultural life of the Renaissance that are most difficult to recover include the performing arts, which come alive at the moment of performance but leave little evidence of the experience of those who witness them. Some performance spaces survive, such as the Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza, as do written accounts, financial records, musical scores, pictorial representations, and a range of artefacts, and performances can in some measure be reconstructed from such materials. Margaret McGowan's chapter on the performing arts focuses on festival, music, drama, and dance, and shows how these forms are shaped by the knowledge of classical antiquity promoted by the humanist scholars of the Renaissance. This is a theme that animates and connects all the chapters in this volume.



THE TEATRO OLIMPICO IN VICENZA (1580–4) was designed by Andrea Palladio and Vincenzo Scamozzi. The stage and semi-circular seating were inspired by the description of an ancient theatre in Vitruvius' *On Architecture*. The perspectival scenery was a Renaissance innovation based on the work of Sebastiano Serlio. The theatre is still used for plays and concerts.

CHAPTER 1

Humanism and the Classical Tradition

PETER MACK

RENAISSANCE humanism was a scholarly movement which profoundly changed European society and intellectual life. By the end of the sixteenth century the educational reforms instigated by the humanists had altered the lives and ways of thinking of elites throughout Europe and the New World of America. Even today our ideas of proportion and beauty in buildings and literary works are deeply influenced by classical ideals revived and transformed in the Renaissance.

Humanists occupied themselves with a range of studies centred on curiosity about the world of classical antiquity. They aspired to write Latin prose like Cicero, to study and interpret Latin literature, to collect manuscripts of ancient writers and to use those manuscripts to improve their texts, to learn Greek, to understand ancient Greek poetry and philosophy, and to write poetry and history which followed classical models. They were hungry for facts about the history, customs, and beliefs of the ancient world, and they tried to use their knowledge to guide conduct in their own time. They sought to make their discoveries about pagan classical literature and thought compatible with their Christian beliefs. Above all their goal was to become, and to enable others to become better people, through their understanding of the greatness of the classical past.

Renaissance humanism sponsored a revolution in education. In the historian Paul Kristeller's influential definition, humanistic studies (*studia humanitatis*) by the mid-fifteenth century 'came to stand for a well-defined cycle of studies', which included grammar, literary studies, rhetoric, poetics, history, and moral philosophy. But this was the core rather than the limit. Scholars trained in humanistic subjects turned their attention to improving texts and translations of the Bible, to political theory, to other fields of philosophy, including cosmology and the nature of the soul, and to theology. The Florentine Marsilio Ficino (1433–99) was as much a humanist in his attempt to make Platonic philosophy part of Christianity as he was in his translations from Greek into Latin for Cosimo de' Medici. The theorists and supporters of the Reformation and

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"In the forefront, for the number and harshness of the treatment meted out to them, are the Polish priests. From 1940 to 1945, 2,800 Polish ecclesiastics and religious were imprisoned in that camp; among them was the Auxiliary bishop of Włocławek, who died there of typhus. In April last there were left only 816, all the others being dead except for two or three transferred to another camp. In the summer of 1942, 480 German-speaking ministers of religion were known to be gathered there; of these, 45 were Protestants, all the others Catholic priests. In spite of the continuous inflow of new internees, especially from some dioceses of Bavaria, Rhenania and Westphalia, their number, as a result of the high rate of mortality, at the beginning of this year, did not surpass 350. Nor should we pass over in silence those belonging to occupied territories, Holland, Belgium, France (among whom the Bishop of Clermont), Luxembourg, Slovenia, Italy. Many Of those priests and laymen endured indescribable sufferings for their faith and for their vocation. In one case the hatred of the impious against Christ reached the point of parodying on the person of an interned priest, with barbed wire, the scourging and the crowning with thorns of our Redeemer." (3268-PS)

Further revealing figures on the persecution of Polish priests are contained in the following extract from Charge No. 17 against Hans Frank, Governor-General of Poland, submitted by the Polish Government, entitled "Maltreatment and Persecution of the Catholic Clergy in the Western Provinces":

IV. GENERAL CONDITIONS AND RESULTS OF THE PERSECUTION

11. The general situation of the clergy in the Archdiocese of Poznań in the beginning of April

1940 is summarized in the following words of Cardinal Hlond's second report:

- '5 priests shot
- 27 priests confined in harsh concentration camps at Stutthof and in other camps
- 190 priests in prison or in concentration camps at Bruczkow, Chludowo, Goruszki, Kazimierz, Biskupi, Lad, Lubin and Puszczykowo,
- 35 priests expelled into the Government General,
- 11 priests seriously ill in consequence of ill-treatment,
- 122 parishes entirely left without priests.'

12. In the diocese of Chelmno, where about 650 priests were installed before the war only 3% were allowed to stay, the 97% of them were imprisoned, executed or put into concentration camps.

13. By January 1941 about 7000 priests were killed, 3000 were in prison or concentration camps."

(3279-PS)

The Allocution of Pope Pius XII on 2 June 1945 described National Socialism as "the arrogant apostasy from Jesus Christ, the denial of His doctrine and of His work of redemption, the cult of violence, the idolatry of race and blood, the overthrow of human liberty and dignity." It summarized the attacks of "National Socialism" on the Catholic Church in these terms:

"The struggle against the Church did, in fact, become even more bitter: there was the dissolution of Catholic organizations; the gradual suppression of the flourishing Catholic schools, both public and private; the enforced weaning of youth from family and Church; the pressure brought to bear on the conscience of citizens, and especially

of civil servants; the systematic defamation, by means of a clever, closely-organized propaganda, of the Church, the clergy, the faithful, the Church's institutions, teaching and history; the closing, dissolution, confiscation of religious houses and other ecclesiastical institutions; the complete suppression of the Catholic press and publishing houses." (3268-PS)

LEGAL REFERENCES AND LIST OF DOCUMENTS RELATING TO SUPPRESSION OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

Document	Description	Vol.	Page
	Charter of the International Military Tribunal, Article 6, especially 6 (a, c).	I	5
	International Military Tribunal, Indictment Number 1, Sections IV (D) 3 (c) (2, 3); X (B).	I	20, 55
Note: A single asterisk (*) before a document indicates that the document was received in evidence at the Nurnberg trial. A double asterisk (**) before a document number indicates that the document was referred to during the trial but was not formally received in evidence, for the reason given in parentheses following the description of the document. The USA series number, given in parentheses following the description of the document, is the			

	official exhibit number assigned by the court.		
*064-PS	Bormann's letter to Rosenberg, 27 September 1940, enclosing letter from Gauleiter Florian criticizing Churches and publications for soldiers. (USA 359)	III	109
*068-PS	Letter from Bormann to Rosenberg, 5 April 1940, enclosing copy of Bormann's letter to the High Command of Navy, and copy of Navy High Command letter to Bormann of 9 February 1940. (USA 726)	III	114
*070-PS	Letter of Deputy Fuehrer to Rosenberg, 25 April 1941, on substitution of National Socialist mottos for morning prayers in schools. (USA 349)	III	118
*072-PS	Bormann letter to Rosenberg, 19 April 1941, concerning confiscation of property, especially of art treasures in the East. (USA 357)	III	122
*089-PS	Letter from Bormann to Rosenberg, 8 March 1940, instructing Amann not to issue further newsprint to confessional newspapers. (USA 360)	III	147
*098-PS	Bormann's letter to Rosenberg, 22 February 1940, urging creation of National Socialist Catechism, etc. to provide moral foundation for NS religion. (USA 350)	III	152
*100-PS	Bormann's letter to Rosenberg, 18 January 1940, urging preparation of	III	160

	National Socialist reading material to replace Christian literature for soldiers. (USA 691)		
*101-PS	Letter from Hess' office signed Bormann to Rosenberg, 17 January 1940, concerning undesirability of religious literature for members of the Wehrmacht. (USA 361)	III	160
*107-PS	Circular letter signed Bormann, 17 June 1938, enclosing directions prohibiting participation of Reichsarbeitsdienst in religious celebrations. (USA 351)	III	162
*116-PS	Bormann's letter to Rosenberg, enclosing copy of letter, 24 January 1939, to Minister of Education requesting restriction or elimination of theological faculties. (USA 685)	III	165
*122-PS	Bormann's letter to Rosenberg, 17 April 1939, enclosing copy of Minister of Education letter, 6 April 1939, on elimination of theological faculties in various universities. (USA 362)	III	173
*129-PS	Letter from Kerrl to Herr Stapol, 6 September 1939, found in Rosenberg files. (USA 727)	III	179
*840-PS	Party Directive, 14 July 1939, making clergy and theology students ineligible for Party membership. (USA 355)	III	606
*848-PS	Gestapo telegram from Berlin to Nurnberg, 24 July 1938, dealing with	III	613

	demonstrations against Bishop Sproll in Rottenburg. (USA 353)		
*849-PS	Letter from Kerrl to Minister of State, 23 July 1938, with enclosures dealing with persecution of Bishop Sproll. (USA 354)	III	614
*998-PS	"German Crimes Against Czechoslovakia". Excerpts from Czechoslovak Official Report for the prosecution and trial of the German Major War Criminals by the International Military Tribunal established according to Agreement of four Great Powers of 8 August 1945. (USA 91)	III	656
*1164-PS	Secret letter, 21 April 1942, from SS to all concentration camp commanders concerning treatment of priests. (USA 736)	III	820
*1458-PS	The Hitler Youth by Baldur von Schirach, Leipzig, 1934. (USA 667)	IV	22
*1481-PS	Gestapo order, 20 January 1938, dissolving and confiscating property of Catholic Youth Women's Organization in Bavaria. (USA 737)	IV	50
*1482-PS	Secret letter, 20 July 1933 to provincial governments and the Prussian Gestapo from Frick, concerning Confessional Youth Organizations. (USA 738)	IV	51
*1498-PS	Order of Frick, 6 November 1934, addressed inter alios to Prussian Gestapo prohibiting publication of	IV	52

	Protestant Church announcements. (USA 739)		
*1521-PS	Report from the Bavarian Political Police to the Gestapo, Berlin, 24 August 1934, concerning National mourning on occasion of death of von Hindenburg. (USA 740)	IV	75
*1708-PS	The Program of the NSDAP. National Socialistic Yearbook, 1941, p. 153. (USA 255; USA 324)	IV	208
*1815-PS	Documents on RSHA meeting concerning the study and treatment of church politics. (USA 510)	IV	415
1855-PS	Extract from Organization Book of the NSDAP, 1937, p. 418.	IV	495
*1997-PS	Decree of the Fuehrer, 17 July 1941, concerning administration of Newly Occupied Eastern Territories. (USA 319)	IV	634
*2349-PS	Extracts from "The Myth of 20th Century" by Alfred Rosenberg, 1941. (USA 352)	IV	1069
2351-PS	Speech of Rosenberg, 7 March 1937, from The Archive, Vol. 34-36, p. 1716, published in Berlin, March 1937.	IV	1070
2352-PS	Speech of Kerrl, 27 November 1937, from The Archive, Vol. 43-45, p. 1029, published in Berlin, November 1937.	IV	1071
2403-PS	The End of the Party State, from Documents of German Politics, Vol. I, pp. 55-56.	V	71

2456-PS	Youth and the Church, from Complete Handbook of Youth Laws.	V	198
*2851-PS	Statement by Rosenberg of positions held, 9 November 1945. (USA 6)	V	512
*2910-PS	Certificate of defendant Seyss-Inquart, 10 November 1945. (USA 17)	V	579
*2928-PS	Affidavit of Mathias Lex, deputy president of the German Shoemakers Union. (USA 239)	V	594
*2972-PS	List of appointments held by von Neurath, 17 November 1945. (USA 19)	V	679
*2973-PS	Statement by von Schirach concerning positions held. (USA 14)	V	679
*2978-PS	Frick's statement of offices and positions, 14 November 1945. (USA 8)	V	683
*2979-PS	Affidavit by Hans Frank, 15 November 1945, concerning positions held. (USA 7)	V	684
*3261-PS	Verbal note of the Secretariate of State of His Holiness, to the German Embassy, 18 January 1942. (USA 568)	V	1009
3262-PS	Report of His Excellency, the Most Reverend Cesare Orsenigo, Papal Nuncio in Germany to His Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State to His Holiness, 27 June 1942.	V	1015
*3263-PS	Memorandum of Secretariate of State to German Embassy regarding the situation in the Warthegau, 8 October 1942. (USA 571)	V	1017

*3264-PS	Note of His Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State to Foreign Minister of Reich about religious situation in Warthegau and in other Polish provinces subject to Germany, 2 March 1943. (USA 572)	V	1018
3265-PS	Letter to His Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State to the Cardinal Archbishop of Breslau, 18 November 1942.	V	1029
*3266-PS	Letter of Cardinal Bertram, Archbishop of Breslau to the Papal Secretary of State, 7 December 1942. (USA 573)	V	1031
3267-PS	Verbal note of German Embassy to Holy See to the Secretariate of State of His Holiness, 29 August 1941.	V	1037
*3268-PS	Allocution of His Holiness Pope Pius XII, to the Sacred College, 2 June 1945. (USA 356)	V	1038
3269-PS	Correspondence between the Holy See, the Apostolic Nuncio in Berlin, and the defendant von Ribbentrop, Reich Minister of Foreign Affairs.	V	1041
3272-PS	Statement of Rupert Mayer, 13 October 1945.	V	1061
3273-PS	Statement of Lutheran Pastor, Friedrich Kaufmann, Salzburg, 23 October 1945.	V	1064
*3274-PS	Pastoral letter of Austrian Bishops read in all churches, 14 October 1945. (USA 570)	V	1067
*3278-PS	Report on fighting of National Socialism in Apostolic Administration	V	1070

	of Innsbruck-Feldkirch of Tyrol and Vorarlberg by Bishop Paulus Rusch, 27 June 1945 and attached list of church institutions there which were closed, confiscated or suppressed. (USA 569)		
*3279-PS	Extract from Charge No. 17 against Hans Frank submitted by Polish Government to International Military Tribunal. (USA 574)	V	1078
*3280-PS	Extract from Papal Encyclical "Mit Brennender Sorge", set forth in Appendix II, p. 524, of "The Persecution of the Catholic Church in the Third Reich". (USA 567)	V	1079
3280-A-PS	Concordat between the Holy See and the German Reich. Reichsgesetzblatt, Part II, p. 679.	V	1080
*3387-PS	Hitler Reichstag speech, 23 March 1933, asking for adoption of Enabling Act, from Voelkischer Beobachter, 24 March 1933, p. 1. (USA 566)	VI	104
*3389-PS	Fulda Declaration of 28 March 1933, from Voelkischer Beobachter, 29 March 1933, p. 2. (USA 566)	VI	105
3433-PS	Law concerning the Constitution of the German Protestant Church, 14 July 1933. 1933 Reichsgesetzblatt, Part I, p. 471.	VI	136
3434-PS	Law concerning procedure for decisions in legal affairs of the Protestant Church, 26 June 1935.	VI	143

	1935 Reichsgesetzblatt, Part I, p. 774.		
3435-PS	First Ordinance for Execution of Law concerning procedure for decisions in legal affairs of the Protestant Church, 3 July 1935. 1935 Reichsgesetzblatt, Part I, p. 851.	VI	144
3436-PS	Law for Safeguarding of German Protestant Church, 24 September 1935. 1935 Reichsgesetzblatt, Part I, p. 1178.	VI	145
3437-PS	Fifth Decree for execution of law for safeguarding of the German Protestant Church, 2 December 1935. 1935 Reichsgesetzblatt, Part I, p. 1370.	VI	146
3439-PS	Fifteenth decree for the Execution of law for Security of German Protestant Church, 25 June 1937. 1937 Reiehsgesetzblatt, Part I, p. 697.	VI	147
3466-PS	Decree to unite the competences of Reich and Prussia in Church Affairs, 16 July 1935. 1935 Reichsgesetzblatt, Part I, p. 1029.	VI	168
3560-PS	Decree concerning organization and administration of Eastern Territories, 8 October 1939. 1939 Reichsgesetzblatt, Part I, p. 2042.	VI	244
3561-PS	Decree concerning the Administration of Occupied Polish Territories, 12 October 1939. 1939 Reichsgesetzblatt, Part I, p. 2077.	VI	246

3701-PS	Proposal for Reichsleiter Bormann concerning speech of Bishop of Muenster on 3 August 1941.	VI	405
*3751-PS	Diary of the German Minister of Justice, 1935 concerning prosecution of church officials and punishment in concentration camps. (USA 828; USA 858)	VI	636
*D-75	SD Inspector Bierkamp's letter, 12 December 1941, to RSHA enclosing copy of secret decree signed by Bormann, entitled Relationship of National Socialism and Christianity. (USA 348)	VI	1035
*D-84	Gestapo instructions to State Police Departments, 5 August 1937, regarding protective custody for Bible students. (USA 236)	VI	1040
*EC-68	Confidential letter from Minister of Finance and Economy, Baden, containing directives on treatment of Polish Farmworkers, 6 March 1941. (USA 205)	VII	260
*R-101-A	Letter from Chief of the Security Police and Security Service to the Reich Commissioner for the Consolidation of German Folkdom, 5 April 1940, with enclosures concerning confiscation of church property. (USA 358)	VIII	87
R-101-B	Letter from Himmler to Dr. Winkler, 31 October 1940, concerning treatment of church property in incorporated Eastern countries.	VIII	89

*R-101-C	Letter to Reich Leader SS, 30 July 1941, concerning treatment of church property in incorporated Eastern areas. (USA 358)	VIII	91
*R-101-D	Letter from Chief of Staff of the Reich Main Security Office (RSHA) to Reich Leader SS, 30 March 1942, concerning confiscation of church property. (USA 358)	VIII	92
*R-103	Letter from Polish Main Committee to General Government of Poland on situation of Polish workers in the Reich, 17 May 1944. (USA 204)	VIII	104
*R-145	State Police Order, 28 May 1934, at Duesseldorf, signed Schmid, concerning sanction of denominational youth and professional associations and distribution of publications in churches. (USA 745)	VIII	248

7. ADOPTION AND PUBLICATION OF THE PROGRAM FOR PERSECUTION OF JEWS

A. *The official program of the NSDAP, proclaimed 24 February 1920 by Adolf Hitler at a public gathering in Munich.*

Point 4: "None but members of the nation (*Volksgenosse*) may be citizens. None but those of German blood, whatever their creed, may be members of the nation. No Jew, therefore, may be a member of the nation."

Point 5: "Anyone who is not a citizen may live in Germany only as a guest and must be regarded as being subject to legislation for foreigners."

Point 6: "The right to determine matters concerning government and legislation is to be enjoyed by the citizen alone. We demand therefore that all appointments to public office, of whatever kind, whether in the Reich, Land, or municipality, be filled only by citizens. * * *"

Point 7: "We demand that the state make it its first duty to promote the industry and livelihood of citizens. If it is not possible to nourish the entire population of the State, the members of foreign nations (non-citizens) are to be expelled from the Reich."

Point 8: "Any further immigration of non-Germans is to be prevented. We demand that all non-Germans who entered Germany subsequent to 2 August 1914, shall be forced immediately to leave the Reich."

Point 23: "We demand legal warfare against conscious political lies and their dissemination through the press. In order to make possible the creation of a German press we demand:

- (a) that all editors and collaborators of newspapers published in the German language be members of the nation.
- (b) non-German newspapers be requested to have express permission of the State to be published. They may not be printed in the German language.
- (c) non-Germans be prohibited by law from financial participation in or influence on German newspapers, and that as penalty for contravention of the law such newspapers be suppressed and all non-Germans participating in it expelled from the Reich. * * *" (1708-PS)

B. Development of ideological basis for anti-Semitic measures.

Among the innumerable statements made by the leaders of the NSDAP are the following:

Rosenberg advocated in 1920 the adoption of the following program concerning the Jews:

- "(1) The Jews are to be recognized as a (separate) nation living in Germany, irrespective of the religion they belong to.
- (2) A Jew is he whose parents on either side are nationally Jews. Anyone who has a Jewish husband or wife is henceforth a Jew.
- (3) Jews have no right to speak and write on or be active in German politics.
- (4) Jews have no right to hold public offices, or to serve in the Army either as soldiers or as officers. However, their contribution of work may be considered.
- (5) Jews have no right to be leaders of cultural institutions of the state and community (theaters, galleries, etc.) or to be professors and teachers in German schools and universities.
- (6) Jews have no right to be active in state or municipal commissions for examinations, control, censorship, etc. Jews have no right to represent the German Reich in economic treaties; they have no right to be represented in the directorate of state banks or communal credit establishments.
- (7) Foreign Jews have no right to settle in Germany permanently. Their admission into the German political community is to be forbidden under all circumstances.
- (8) Zionism should be energetically supported in order to promote the departure of German Jews—in numbers to be determined annually—to Palestine or generally across the border." (2842-PS)

Rosenberg's "Zionism" was neither sincere nor consistent, for in 1921 he advocated breaking up Zionism, "which is involved in English-Jewish politics." (2432-PS). He advocated in 1921 the adoption by "all Germans" of the following slogans: "Get the Jews out of all parties. Institute measures for the repudiation of all citizenship rights of all Jews and half-Jews: banish all the Eastern

Jews; exercise strictest vigilance over the native ones. * * *" (2432-PS)

Frick and other Nazis introduced a motion in the Reichstag on 27 May 1924, "to place all members of the Jewish race under special laws." (2840-PS). Frick also asked in the Reichstag, on 25 August 1924, for the realization of the Nazi program by "exclusion of all Jews from public office." (2893-PS)

C. Anti-Semitism was seized upon by the Nazi conspirators as a convenient instrument to unite groups and classes of divergent views and interests under one banner.

Adolf Hitler described racial anti-Semitism as "a new creed for the masses" and its spreading among the German people as "the most formidable task to be accomplished by our movement." (2881-PS). Rosenberg called for the "*Zusammenraffen aller Deutschen zu einer stahlhartem, voelkischen Einheitsfront*" (gathering of all Germans into a steel-hard racial united front) on the basis of anti-Semitic slogans (2432-PS). Gotfried Feder, official commentator of the Nazi Party program, stated: "Anti-Semitism is in a way the emotional foundation of our movement." (2844-PS)

There are innumerable admissions on the part of the Nazi leaders as to the part which their anti-Semitic propaganda played in their acquisition of control. The following statement concerning the purpose of racial propaganda was made by Dr. Walter Gross, director of the Office of Racial Policy of the Nazi Party:

"In the years of fight, the aim was to employ all means of propaganda which promised success in order to gather people who were ready to overthrow, together with the Party, the harmful post-war regime and put the power into the hand of the Fuehrer and his collaborators. * * * In these years of fight the aim was purely political: I meant the overthrow of the regime and acquisition of power. * * * Within this great general task the education in racial thinking necessarily played a decisive part, because herein lies basically the deepest revolutionary nature of the new spirit." (2845-PS)

In another official Nazi publication, recommended for circulation in all Party units and establishments, it is stated:

"The whole treatment of the Jewish problem in the years prior to our seizure of power is to be regarded essentially from the point of view of the political education of the German people." (To disregard this angle of the use made of anti-Semitism means) "to disregard the success and aim of the work toward racial education." (2427-PS)

D. After the acquisition of power the Nazi conspirators initiated a state policy of persecution of the Jews.

(1) *The first organized act was the boycott of Jewish enterprises on 1 April 1933.* The boycott action was approved by all the defendants who were members of the *Reichsregierung* (Reich Cabinet), and Streicher was charged with its execution. Presented as an alleged act of "self defense", the boycott action was intended to frighten Jewish public opinion abroad and force it, by the threat of collective responsibility to all Jews in Germany, to desist from warning against the Nazi danger. (2409-PS; 2410-PS)

The boycott was devised as a demonstration of the extent to which the Nazi Party controlled its members and the German masses; consequently, spontaneous action and physical violence were discouraged. Goebbels stated:

"The national socialist leadership had declared: 'The boycott is legal', and the government demands that the people permit that the boycott be carried out legally. We expect iron discipline. This must be for the whole world a wonderful show of unity and manly training. To those abroad who believe that we could not manage it, we want to show that we have the people in our hand." (2431-PS)

(2) *Laws eliminating Jews from various offices and functions.* The Nazi conspirators legislative program was gradual and, in the beginning, relatively "moderate." In the first period, which dates

from 7 April 1933 until September 1935, the laws eliminated Jews from public office and limited their participation in schools, certain professions, and cultural establishments. The following are the major laws issued in this period:

Document No.	Date	Reichsgesetzblatt page	Title and gist of law	Signed by
1397-PS	7.4.33	I.175	<i>Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums</i> (Law for the reestablishment of the professional civil service), removing Jews from Civil Service.	Hitler Frick Schwerin V. Krosigk
	7.4.33	I.188	<i>Gesetz über die Zulassung zur Rechtsanwaltschaft</i> (Law relating to admission to the Bar) removing Jews from the Bar.	Guertner
2868-PS	22.4.33	I.217	<i>Gesetz betreffend die Zulassung zur Patentanwaltschaft</i> (Law relating to the admission to the profession of patent agent and lawyer) excluding Jews from acting as patent attorneys.	Hitler Guertner
2869-PS	6.5.33	I.257	<i>Gesetz über die Zulassung von Steuerberatern</i> (Law relating to the admission	Hitler Schwerin V. Krosigk

			of Tax Advisors) eliminating “non-Aryans” from the profession of tax consultants.	
2084-PS	22.4.33	I.215	<i>Gesetz uber die uberfullung deutscher Schullen</i> (Law against the overcrowding of German schools and higher institutions) limiting drastically the number of Jewish students.	Hitler Frick
2870-PS	26.7.33	I.538	<i>Verordnung zur Durchfuehrung des Gesetzes uber den Widerruf von Einbuergerungen</i> (Executing decree for the law about the Repeal of Naturalizations and the adjudication of German citizenship) defining Jews from Eastern Europe as “undesirable” and subject to denationalization.	Pfundtner (Asst. to Frick)
2083-PS	4.10.33	I.713	<i>Schriftleitergesetz</i> (Editorial Law) barring “non-Aryans” and persons married to “non-Aryans” from the newspaper profession.	Hitler Goebbels
2984-PS	21.5.35	I.608	<i>Wehrgesetz</i> (Law concerning Armed	V. Blomberg

Forces) barring "non-Aryans" from military service.

On 10 September 1935, Minister of Education Rust issued a circular ordering the complete elimination of Jewish pupils from "Aryan" schools (2894-PS). This legislative activity, in addition to being the first step towards the elimination of the Jews, served an "educational" purpose and was a further test of the extent of control exerted by the Nazi Party and regime over the German masses.

Dr. Achim Gercke, racial expert of the Ministry of the Interior, stated:

"The laws are mainly educational and give direction. The aspect of the laws should not be underestimated. The entire nation is enlightened on the Jewish problem; it learns to understand that the national community is a blood community; it understands for the first time the racial idea, and is diverted from a too theoretical treatment of the Jewish problem and faced with the actual solution." (2904-PS)

It was clear, however, that the Nazi conspirators had a far more ambitious program in the Jewish problem and put off its realization for reasons of expediency. In the words of Dr. Gercke:

"Nevertheless the laws published thus far cannot bring a final solution of the Jewish problem, because the time has not yet come for it, although the decrees give the general direction and leave open the possibility of further developments.

"It would be in every respect premature now to work out and publicly discuss plans to achieve more than can be achieved for the time being. However, one must point out a few basic principles so that the ideas which one desires and must have ripened will contain no mistakes. * * *

"All suggestions aiming at a permanent situation, at a stabilization of, the status of the Jews in Germany do not solve the Jewish problem, because they do not detach the Jews from Germany. * * *

"Plans and programs must contain an aim pointing to the future and not merely consisting of the regulation of a momentarily uncomfortable situation." (2904-PS)

(3) *Deprivation of Jews of their rights as citizens.* After a propaganda barrage, in which the speeches and writings of Streicher were most prominent, the Nazi conspirators initiated the second period of anti-Jewish legislation (15 September 1935 to September 1938). In this period the Jews were deprived of their full rights as citizens (First Nurnberg Law) and forbidden to marry "Aryans" (Second Nurnberg Law). Further steps were taken to eliminate Jews from certain professions, and the groundwork was laid for the subsequent expropriation of Jewish property. These laws were hailed as the fulfillment of the Nazi Party program.

The major laws issued in this period are listed below:

Document No.	Date	Reichsgesetzblatt page	Title and gist of law	Signed by
1416-PS	15.9.35	I 1145	<i>Reichsbuergergesetz</i> (Reich Citizenship Law), first Nurnberg Law, reserving citizenship for subjects of German blood.	Hitler Frick
2000-PS	15.9.35	I 1146	<i>Gesetz zum Schutze des deutschen Blutes</i> , (Law for protection of German blood and German honor), forbidding marriages and extra-	Hitler Frick Guertner Hess

				marital relations between Jews and "Aryans".	
1417-PS	14.11.35	I 1333		<i>Erste Verordnung zum Reichsbuergergesetz</i> (First regulation to Reich citizenship law), defining the terms "Jew" and "part-Jew". Jewish officials to be dismissed.	Hitler Frick Hess
2871-PS	7.3.36	I 133		<i>Gesetz ueber das Reichstagwahlrecht</i> (Law governing elections to the Reichstag) barring Jews from Reichstag vote.	Hitler Frick
1406-PS	26.4.38	I 414		<i>Verordnung ueber die Ammeldung des Vermogens von Juden</i> (Decree for reporting Jewish-owned property), basis for subsequent expropriation.	Goering Frick
2872-PS	25.7.38	I 969		<i>Vierte Verordnung zum Reichsbuergergesetz.</i> Fourth decree on the Citizenship Law, revoking licenses of Jewish physicians.	Frick
2873-PS	17.8.38	I 1044		<i>Zweite Verordnung zur Durchfuhrung des Gesetzes ueber die Aenderung von Familiennamen und Vornamen</i> (Second	Frick

			decree on law concerning change of first and last names), forcing Jews to adopt the names "Israel" and "Sara".
2874-PS	27.9.38	I 1403	<i>Fuenfte Verordnung zum Reichsbuergergesetz.</i> (Fifth decree to law relating to the Reich citizenship), revoking admission of Jewish lawyers.

(4) Program of 9 November 1938 and elimination of Jews from economic life.

In the autumn of 1938, within the framework of economic preparation for aggressive war and as an act of defiance to world opinion, the Nazi conspirators began to put into effect a program of complete elimination of the Jews. The measures taken were partly presented as retaliation against "world Jewry" in connection with the killing of a German embassy official in Paris. Unlike the boycott action in April, 1933, when care was taken to avoid violence, an allegedly "spontaneous" pogrom was staged and carried out all over Germany on orders of Heydrich.

The organized character of the pogrom is also obvious from the admission of Heydrich and others at a meeting presided over by Goering at the Air Ministry in Berlin. (1816-PS)

The legislative measures which followed were discussed and approved in their final form at a meeting on 12 November 1938 under the chairmanship of Goering, with the participation of Frick, Funk and others. The meeting was called following Hitler's orders "requesting that the Jewish questions be now, once and for all, coordinated and solved one way or another." The participants agreed on measures to be taken "for the elimination of the Jew from

German economy." Other possibilities, such as the establishment of ghettos, stigmatization through special insignia, and "the main problem, namely to kick the Jew out of Germany", were also discussed. All these measures were later enacted as soon as conditions permitted. (1816-PS)

The laws issued in this period were signed mostly by Goering, in his capacity as Deputy for the Four Year Plan, and were thus connected with the consolidation of control over German economy in preparation for aggressive war.

The major laws issued in this period are listed below:

Document No.	Date	Reichsgesetzblatt page	Title and gist of law	Signed by
1412-PS	12.11.38	I 1579	<i>Verordnung ueber eine Suhneleistung der Juden</i> (Order concerning expiation contribution of Jews of German nationality), obligating all German Jews to pay a collective fine of 1.000.000.000 Reichsmark.	Goering
2875-PS	12.11.38	I 1580	<i>Verordnung zur Ausschaltung der Juden aus dem deutschen Wirtschaftsleben</i> (Decree on elimination of Jews from German economic life), barring Jews from trade and crafts.	Goering
1415-PS	28.11.38	I 1676	<i>Polizeiverordnung ueber das Auftreten der Juden</i>	Heydrich (assistant)

			<i>in der Queffentlichkeit</i> (Police regulation of the appearance of Jews in public), limiting movement of Jews to certain localities and hours.	to Frick)
1409-PS	3.12.38	I 1709	<i>Verordnung ueber den Einsatz des Juedischen Vermoegens</i> (Order concerning the Utilization of Jewish property), setting time limit for the sale or liquidation of Jewish enterprises; forcing Jews to deposit shares and securities held by them; forbidding sale or acquisition of gold and precious stones by Jews.	Funk Frick
1419-PS	30.4.39	I 864	<i>Gesetz ueber Mietverhaeltnisse mit Juden</i> (Law concerning Jewish tenants) granting to landlords the right to give notice to Jewish tenants before legal expiration of lease.	Hitler Guertner Krohn Frick Hess
2876-PS	4.7.39	I 1097	<i>Zehnte Verordnung zum Reichsbuergergesetz</i> (Tenth decree relating to the Reich Citizenship Law), forcible congregation of Jews in	Frick Rust Kerrl Hess

2877-PS	1.9.41	I 547	<p>the "Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland".</p> <p><i>Polizeiverordnung ueber die Konnzeichnung der Juden</i> (Police order concerning identification of Jews) forcing all Jews over 6 years of age to wear the Star of David.</p>	Heydrich
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(5) *Extermination of German Jews.* Early in 1939 Hitler and the other Nazi conspirators decided to arrive at a "final solution of the Jewish problem." In connection with preparations for aggressive war, further consolidation of controls and removal of elements not belonging to the *Volksgemeinschaft* (racial community) were deemed necessary. The conspirators also anticipated the conquest of territories in Eastern Europe inhabited by large numbers of Jews and the impossibility of forcing large-scale emigration in wartime. Hence, other and more drastic measures became necessary. The emphasis in this period shifted from legislative acts to police measures.

On 24 January 1939 Heydrich was charged with the mission of "arriving at a solution of the Jewish problem." (710-PS)

On 15 January 1939 Rosenberg stated in a speech at Detmold:

"For Germany the Jewish problem will be solved only when the last Jew has left Germany."

On 7 February 1939, Rosenberg appealed to foreign nations to forget "ideological differences" and unite against the "real enemy," the Jew. He advocated the creation of a "reservation" where the Jews of all countries should be concentrated (2843-PS). In his Reichstag speech on 30 January 1939, Hitler made the following prophecy:

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